

REPRESENTING RUSSIA: LUXURY AND DIPLOMACY AT THE RAZUMOVSKY PALACE IN VIENNA, 1803–1815

BY MARK FERRAGUTO*

To behold these thousand treasures and jewels, the many mirrors, smashed statues, scorched divans and furniture, and all the gold ornaments beside the collapsed ceilings, coal-black beams, burnt paneling and walls made the strangest contrast. . . . The damage is immeasurably great.¹

Having gained access to the still-dangerous scene, a Viennese correspondent for the *Journal für Literatur, Kunst, Luxus, und Mode* surveys the smouldering rubble of what had once been a ‘true paradise’: the palace of Russian ambassador Andrey Razumovsky.² Describing the wreckage in vivid detail, the correspondent enumerates the charred and broken luxury items now inelegantly decorating the palace’s landscape garden (after having been hauled or thrown from the edifice): ‘several hundred mirror doors, casements, chandeliers, sofas, mattresses, draperies, fire screens, mahogany doors with gilded arabesques’, and more.³ A mixture of eyewitness news and fashion report, the account publicizes both the tragic event itself—the accidental blaze that tore through a wing of the palace at a time of international gathering, the Congress of Vienna—and the extreme opulence of one of Europe’s premier diplomats.

The pursuit of luxury has long been a contentious topic in the history of diplomacy. Concomitant with the rise of the nation-state, activities such as art collection, patronage, and connoisseurship became expectations of the *corps diplomatique*.⁴ In the world of the court ceremonial, luxurious displays helped to signify power; monarchs supported

* School of Music, Pennsylvania State University Email: mcf18@psu.edu. Earlier versions of this essay were presented at the Pennsylvania State University as part of the *Classical Music Project* Interdisciplinary Lecture Series (Oct. 2013); the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society in Pittsburgh, Pa. (Nov. 2013); Yale University as part of Rebekah Ahrendt’s seminar ‘Music and Diplomacy from Castiglione to Condoleezza’ (Mar. 2015); and the Spring Meeting of the AMS Allegheny Chapter in Grove City, Pa. (Apr. 2015). I am grateful to all those who shared their thoughts and perspectives at these events. I also wish to thank Robin Thomas, Damien Mahiet, Kristina Muxfeldt, Markus Chmielus, and the journal’s two anonymous reviewers for their critical feedback and valuable suggestions.

¹ ‘Diese tausend Kostbarkeiten und Geschmeide, die vielen Spiegel, zerschmetterte Statuen, versengte Divans und Meubles, und alle die Goldverzierungen neben den herabgestürzten Decken, kohlschwarzen Balken, verbranntem Getäfel und Mauern zu erblicken, machte den seltsamsten Contrast. . . . Der Schaden ist unermeßlich groß.’ ‘Brand des Rasumowskyschen Palais zu Wien. Wien am 4ten Januar 1815’, *Journal für Literatur, Kunst, Luxus und Mode*, 30 (Weimar, Jan. 1815), 59–63 at 61. Translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

² Ibid. 60.

³ Ibid. 62.

⁴ See Helen Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power: The Material World of the Stuart Diplomat, 1660–1714* (Oxford, 2012), 1–8, and Mark Häberlein and Christof Jeggle (eds.), *Materielle Grundlagen der Diplomatie: Schenken, Sammeln und Verhandeln in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Constance and Munich, 2013), 13–20.

and even subsidized the lavish representative efforts of their ambassadors.⁵ And yet, the profligacy of the diplomatic class—many of whom were ennobled and also privately wealthy—brought their extravagant lifestyles into disrepute. In the words of one nineteenth-century British diplomat, ambassadors, instead of being clear-headed, enlightened statesmen, ‘gradually became a set of well-dressed, dining, dancing, fiddling, bowing, scraping, frivolous, toadying nobodies—all tinsel and gewgaws’.⁶

This essay explores the role of luxury in the life of Count Andrey Razumovsky (1752–1836), Russian ambassador to Austria during the Napoleonic Wars. Hailing from a wealthy and prominent Ukrainian family, Razumovsky received diplomatic training in Strasbourg, where he studied music and dance alongside history, politics, law, and other disciplines.⁷ He travelled widely and held diplomatic posts in Naples, Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Vienna, where he settled in 1801. His affinities with Viennese culture ran deep: he would marry two Austrians and convert to Roman Catholicism before his death; his obituary declared that he had ‘effectively become a native of this imperial city’.⁸ A talented violinist, he supported Vienna’s serious music culture fervently and is best known today for his patronage of Beethoven and his role in establishing the Schuppanzigh Quartet. He was also a keen collector of fine art, assembling one of the best private art collections of the period. Largely destroyed by the fire, the collection included masterpieces by Raphael, Rubens, and Van Dyck, landscapes by Angelika Kauffmann (1741–1807) and Jakob Philipp Hackert (1737–1807), and a room full of statues by the Italian sculptor Antonio Canova (1757–1822).⁹

To what extent was the diplomat’s luxury consumption personal? To what extent professional? These questions have no easy answers. The issue is particularly complicated for Russian noblemen serving abroad, insofar as imperial efforts to ‘Europeanize’ or ‘Westernize’ the Russian polity encouraged, even demanded, the ostentatious imitation of the European elite. As Jurij M. Lotman has observed, the importation of everyday behaviours and foreign languages from Europe into Russian culture—as laid out in etiquette treatises like *The Honourable Mirror to Youth* (*Iunosti chestnoe zertsalo*, 1717)—resulted in the transformation of these very practices, such that they ‘acquired high prestige’ and ‘increased a person’s social status’ within the Russian context. In a culture in which ‘the alien and the foreign became the norm’, theatricality became a dominant paradigm of social interaction and theatrical

⁵ For early examples, see Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, 1–36. As Jennifer Mori notes, the bankrolling of diplomats waned throughout the 18th c., to the point that the obligation to ‘embody munificence’ became a major burden for diplomats of modest means. Jennifer Mori, *The Culture of Diplomacy: Britain in Europe, c. 1750–1830* (Manchester and New York, 2010), 62–3.

⁶ Eustace Clare Grenville Murray, *Embassies and Foreign Courts: A History of Diplomacy* (London and New York, 1855), 147.

⁷ On the curriculum, see Jürgen Voss, *Universität, Geschichtswissenschaft und Diplomatie im Zeitalter der Aufklärung: Johann Daniel Schöpflin (1694–1771)* (Munich, 1979), 147 and 165, and ‘L’École diplomatique de Strasbourg: l’ENA de l’Ancien Régime?’, *Pariser historische Studien*, 42 (1996), 205–14 at 211–12.

⁸ *Wiener Zeitung*, Monday, 3 Oct. 1836. Quoted in Maria Razumovskys, *Die Rasumovskys: Eine Familie am Zarenhof* (Cologne, 1998), 296 n. 13.

⁹ Theodor von Frimmel, ‘Fürst Andreas Rasumofsky als Kunstfreund im alten Wien’, *Wiener Abendpost*, 174 (1 Aug. 1918), 1–3. What little remained of the collection after the fire was dispersed after Razumovsky’s death. In 1838, Prince Aloys II von Liechtenstein (who purchased the palace itself) also bought three paintings from Princess Razumovskys: a landscape by Max Josef Wagenbauer (price unknown), a portrait of a bearded man by Hans Holbein (price 50 gulden), and a portrait of Canova by Johann Baptist Lampi (price unknown). Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections, Vaduz–Vienna, Hausarchiv (HAL), Inv.-Nr.: FM4. I thank Arthur Stögmänn of The Princely Collections for this information.

excess its corollary.¹⁰ Such excess was visible not only at the level of an individual's everyday behaviours, but also at the level of international relations: Russia's lavish implementation of the European court ceremonial was a prime example.¹¹ Through the cultivation of European art and artists, Russian noblemen not only asserted their membership in a privileged and cosmopolitan group of elites but also played a part in a broader and more multifarious process through which Russia endeavoured to gain Western acceptance.

For Razumovsky as for his Russian peers, the design and construction of an estate offered an especially ostentatious means to declare one's role in the drama. During this golden age of Russian estate building (roughly 1762–1830), estate architecture established or affirmed an owner's identity in two opposite ways—what Priscilla Roosevelt has termed 'upward' and 'downward' directions. In the upward direction, owners imitated the latest imperial architectural trends, seeking to position themselves as closely as possible to the crown. In the downward direction, they created estates 'physically reflecting the owner's hierarchical dominance over a local society', seeking to establish themselves as enlightened rulers over personal kingdoms that could include a vast population of dependent serfs.¹² Though he does not appear to have kept serfs in Vienna, Razumovsky ruled over a local society of his own: his domain included over forty domestic servants, mostly of German and French origin, including chancellery staff, hôteliers, valets, footmen, gardeners, cooks, hunters, stable boys, coachmen, artists, musicians, and a wigmaker, among others.¹³ His estate, with its modern, Empire-style palace as centrepiece, presented Viennese onlookers with a tantalizing glimpse of an enlightened Russian state, one that aspired to be both fully Russian and fully European.

As both a private residence and the site of the Russian embassy, Razumovsky's estate hence served as a kind of 'mediator' through which, as an individual as well as a diplomat, he conjured up Russia.¹⁴ More than merely reflecting a sense of its owner's identity, the estate helped to constitute this identity, to give it shape, and in so doing to transform and modify its meaning. This process depended in no small part on the sign systems of representational culture, explored in the *ancien régime* context by Tim Blanning among others.¹⁵ A textured account of specific modes of representation (architectural, iconographical, sartorial, collectional, musical, theatrical, and so on)—including the ways in which these modes contradicted as well as complemented each

¹⁰ Jurij M. Lotman, 'The Poetics of Everyday Behavior in Russian Eighteenth Century Culture' (trans. N. F. C. Owen), in Jurij M. Lotman, Boris A. Uspenskij, and Ann Shukman (eds.), *The Semiotics of Russian Culture* (Michigan Slavic Contributions, 11; Ann Arbor, 1984), 231–56 at 232–3.

¹¹ Simon Dixon notes that Russia's close adherence to European ceremonial forms was linked to the desire for international recognition. Simon Dixon, *The Modernisation of Russia, 1676–1825* (Cambridge and New York, 1999), 121. See also Jurij M. Lotman, 'The Theater and Theatricality as Components of Early Nineteenth-Century Culture' (trans. G. S. Smith), in Lotman et al. (eds.), *Semiotics of Russian Culture*, 141–64.

¹² Priscilla Roosevelt, 'Russian Estate Architecture and Noble Identity', in James Cracraft and Daniel Rowland (eds.), *Architectures of Russian Identity: 1500 to the Present* (Ithaca and London, 2003), 66–79 at 66.

¹³ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna, 'Razumofski fürst Verlassenschaft', HHStA HA OmaA 72-26: II/495a (1836). This document in Razumovsky's hand contains two rosters, one listing current members of the household staff and one listing those no longer on staff who were receiving pensions.

¹⁴ Latour contrasts 'mediators', which 'transform, translate, distort, and modify meaning', with 'intermediaries', which merely transport meaning without transforming it. Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford and New York, 2005), 39.

¹⁵ T. C. W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660–1789* (Oxford and New York, 2002, repr. 2006), 5–14.

other—can enhance our understanding of how luxury mediated personal or professional identity.¹⁶

Three representational modes—horticulture, architecture, and music—provide the basis for the present exploration. Taken together, these three modes present a variegated account of the transformative role of luxury in Razumovsky's life. Far from being discrete entities, they are assemblages composed of many heterogeneous elements, including material objects, agents, practices, ideas, signs, discourses, and more.¹⁷ Each of these assemblages overlaps with the others in complex ways: while music may be said to constitute a mode of representation in its own right, it also served as a guiding concept for garden and palace design; similarly, architectural and horticultural spaces motivated and shaped musical practices.

As an interdisciplinary study of the Razumovsky Palace *qua* embassy, this essay integrates several analytical perspectives. First, it reflects the cultural turn in international history, concurring with Markus Mösslang and Torsten Riotte that diplomacy should not merely be interpreted as a means of foreign policy but also 'as a historical phenomenon and a personal experience in its own right'.¹⁸ Second, it draws on recent studies of the politics of palace architecture,¹⁹ embassy architecture,²⁰ and garden art.²¹ Collectively, these studies invite a significant reappraisal of the idea of representational culture in the early nineteenth century. Third, it benefits from surging interest in the topic of music and diplomacy in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Such interest has particularly constellated around the Congress of Vienna.²² Recent

¹⁶ Representation is also a central concept in theories of diplomacy, in which it signifies the act of 'standing for' a sovereign; see William Roosen, 'Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach', *Journal of Modern History*, 52 (1980), 452–76 at 455–6. Jürgen Habermas expressed a common view when he argued that this type of representation had nothing to do with the 'publicity of representation inseparable from the lord's concrete existence, that, as an "aura," surrounded and endowed his authority'; Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass., 1989, repr. 1991), 7. But more recent scholars have argued that these two notions of representation are in fact closely interrelated. Constantinou, for instance, maintains that diplomatic representation (in the sense of 'standing for' a sovereign) depends on diplomats' establishment of their credentials through a 'diplomatic frame-up—the very construction and animation of the diplomatic world they live in'; Costas M. Constantinou, *On the Way to Diplomacy* (Minneapolis, 1996), 22.

¹⁷ See J. Macgregor Wise, 'Assemblage', in Charles J. Stivale (ed.), *Gilles Deleuze: Key Concepts*, 2nd edn. (London and New York, 2011), 91–102.

¹⁸ Markus Mösslang and Torsten Riotte, 'Introduction: The Diplomats' World', in Mösslang and Riotte (eds.), *The Diplomats' World: A Cultural History of Diplomacy, 1815–1914* (Studies of the German Historical Institute London; Oxford and New York, 2008), 10. See also Hamish Scott, 'Diplomatic Culture in Old Regime Europe', in Hamish Scott and Brendan Simms (eds.), *Cultures of Power in Europe during the Long Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2007), 58–85, and Mori, *Culture of Diplomacy*.

¹⁹ A seminal work is Jonathan Brown and John H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven, 1980; rev. edn. 2003). See also Marie-France Auzépy et Joël Cornette (eds.), *Palais et pouvoir: De Constantinople à Versailles* (Saint-Denis, 2003); Michael Yonan, *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art* (University Park, Pa., 2011); and Robin Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft: Charles of Bourbon's Naples, 1734–1759* (University Park, Pa., 2013).

²⁰ See Jane C. Loeffler, *The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America's Embassies*, 2nd rev. edn. (New York, 2011) and Jakob Hort, *Architektur der Diplomatie: Repräsentation in europäischen Botschaftsbauten, 1800–1920. Konstantinopel—Rom—Wien—St. Petersburg* (Göttingen, 2014).

²¹ See Robert Rotenberg, *Landscape and Power in Vienna* (Baltimore and London, 1995); Michael Conan (ed.), *Bourgeois and Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art, 1550–1850* (Washington, DC, 2002); Andreas Schöne, *The Ruler in the Garden: Politics and Landscape Design in Imperial Russia* (Bern, 2007); Robert W. Berger and Thomas F. Hedin, *Diplomatic Tours in the Gardens of Versailles under Louis XIV* (Philadelphia, 2008); and Chandra Mukerji, 'Space and Political Pedagogy at the Gardens of Versailles', *Public Culture*, 24 (2012), 509–34.

²² See, among others, Otto Biba, 'The Congress of Vienna and Music', in Ole Villumsen Krog (ed.), *Danmark og Den Dansende Wienerkongress: Spillet om Danmark / Denmark and the Dancing Congress of Vienna: Playing for Denmark's Future* (Copenhagen, 2002), 200–14; Damien Mahiet, 'The Concert of Nations: Music, Political Thought and Diplomacy in Europe, 1600s–1800s' (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2011), 196–237; Nicholas Mathew, *Political Beethoven* (Cambridge,

work has also demonstrated music's relevance to international relations prior to the twentieth century through studies of both individuals and specific geo-historical contexts.²³ By applying an interdisciplinary approach to a multimedia subject, this essay offers new ways of thinking about both the cultural history of diplomacy and the political significance of luxury in the Napoleonic era. It focuses on Razumovsky's making of an embassy during the heyday of his estate, roughly 1803 to 1815, first through his activities as patron, and second through those of his first wife Countess Elizabeth von Thun-Hohenstein, a pivotal figure in the palace's design and salon life. The conclusion considers these activities in the light of contemporary debates about luxury and its place in statecraft.

MODES OF (DIPLOMATIC) REPRESENTATION: HORTICULTURE, ARCHITECTURE, MUSIC

Horticulture

By the late eighteenth century, the English model of country life had spread throughout Europe. It gained particular traction in Russia under Catherine the Great, who had inspired an Anglomaniac trend through her preferences for English architecture and landscaping.²⁴ Although Russian nobles, including diplomats, continued to speak French and dress in French fashion, it was the taste for things English that came to be considered the marker of a refined and cosmopolitan sensibility.²⁵ Like his predecessor Dmitry Mikhailovich Golitsyn (Russian ambassador to Austria from 1761 to 1792), Razumovsky was often described by contemporaries as an Anglomaniac. As a young officer, he travelled to the British Isles and served on an English man-of-war; in Vienna, he maintained close professional contacts with the English legation. In 1795, he hired the expert landscape gardener Konrad Rosenthal to design a vast garden in the English style that would connect his new palace in the *Landstrasse* district—for which the ground-breaking took place in September 1803—with the Danube River canal (see Pls. 1 and 2). As with the palace itself, Razumovsky exercised personal influence over details of the garden's design.

Horticultural and musical tastes were closely entwined. Landscapes and musical works were often discussed using the same terminology, and garden critics, like musical ones, spoke of *Kenner und Liebhaber* (connoisseurs and amateurs). This connection is evident in an 1803 letter to Razumovsky (on leave in Russia due to the death of his father) from his *chargé d'affaires* Ivan Ossipovich Anstett. It pertains to changes that Rosenthal had proposed to the garden's design plan:

What I have just explained to Y[our] E[xcellency] is quite clear to me, who have observed on site the truth of Rosenthal's plan, his results for the harmony of the ensemble and the optical

2013); Brian E. Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 2014), 112–52; idem, 'The Vienna Congress as an Event in Austrian History: Civil Society and Politics in the Habsburg Empire at the End of the Wars against Napoleon', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 46 (2015), 109–33; and Europäische Musikforschungsvereinigung Wien (ed.), '1815: Musik zum Siegen und Tanzen', special issue, *Österreichische Musik Zeitschrift: Ein Europäisches Forum*, 70/1 (2015).

²³ Case studies are too numerous to mention here; larger collections include John Irving (ed.), 'Music and Diplomacy', special issue, *Early Music*, 40/3 (Aug. 2012), and Rebekah Ahrendt, Mark Ferraguto, and Damien Mahiet (eds.), *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present* (New York, 2014).

²⁴ Priscilla Roosevelt, *Life on the Russian Country Estate: A Social and Cultural History* (New Haven and London, 1995), 29.

²⁵ Ibid. 32–3.



PL. 1. *Palace and Garden of Prince Razumovsky in the Viennese Suburb of Landstrasse* (c. 1825). Watercolour by Eduard Gurk (1801–41). Wien Museum. Photo: Imagno / Getty Images



PL. 2. *Im Prater* (c. 1810), showing Razumovsky Palace and Danube River canal. Coloured etching by Joseph Mössmer (1780–1845). © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, KAR 0500221

accord; but will it be equally so for you, Mr Ambassador? I have been the instrumental interpreter; it's for the creator to decide.²⁶

Likening the garden's construction to a performance, Anstett implies that individual elements within the landscape should create not only a sense of visual 'accord' but also a kind of 'harmony'. While Rosenthal is charged with achieving this harmony, Razumovsky has final say in the garden's design as its 'creator' or composer. Much like a concert, the garden projected its patron's personal taste on a grand scale.

Eschewing the mannered, 'artificial' style of French gardens, English gardens were designed to showcase nature through irregular, secluded paths and viewpoints onto magnificent natural vistas. Razumovsky's garden contained a number of such *Augenpunkte*, including the terrace on the palace's eastern side, from which one had an impressive glimpse of the garden's overall layout (if not its limits). Equally remarkable was the way the garden appeared to transition 'through optical illusion' into the woods of the public Prater.²⁷ Wanderers on both sides of the canal could thereby observe not only the Russian ambassador's modish Englishness, but also the subtle ways in which he had—through Rosenthal's ingenuity—effectively reframed the natural landscape. The Prince de Ligne, for instance, praised Rosenthal's design, noting the way it improved upon the French gardens that had existed on the property under its previous owner: 'One can hardly notice the little work that the best taste has directed. Nothing has been done but to reform the awkward art that had disfigured Nature. Her garden was given back to her; and this reinforces what has always been my moral: to seek out, and not to make.'²⁸

Addison and Shaftesbury were among the first to associate English gardens with ideals of liberty and humanism as opposed to French gardens (like those at Versailles and at Schönbrunn in Vienna), which were thought to reflect the sovereign's attempt to harness and dominate nature. Louis Jaucourt, in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, similarly praised English gardens for the way they liberated body, mind, and senses: 'in England, the walks, which are negotiable in all weathers, are havens of sweet and serene enjoyment: the body relaxes, the mind wanders, the eyes are enchanted by the greenness of the turf and lawns, and the senses of smell and sight are flattered by the variety of flowers.'²⁹ By the early nineteenth century, French gardens were falling rapidly out of fashion, because of both their perceived formal rigidity and their *ancien régime* associations. Beethoven, well versed in garden aesthetics, likened the carefully manicured French shrubs at Schönbrunn to the elaborate hoop skirts of *ancien régime* court society: 'All artifice, pruned like those old farthingales. I only feel well when

²⁶ 'Ce que je viens d'exposer à V. E. est bien clair pour moi qui ai observé sur la place la vérité du plan de Rosenthal, ses résultats pour l'harmonie de l'ensemble et l'accord optique; mais le sera-t-il également pour vous, m-r l'ambassadeur? J'ai été l'interprète de l'instrument: c'est au créateur de prononcer.' Anstett to Razumovsky, 12/24 Aug. 1803, in Alexandre Wassiltchikow, *Les Razoumowski*, trans. Alexandre Brückner, 3 vols. (Halle, 1893–4), ii/4, 101. Brückner's revised French edition of Vasil'čikov's magnum opus (Aleksandr Alekseevič Vasil'čikov, *Semejstvo Razumovskich*, 5 vols. (St Petersburg, 1880–94)) was completed at the request of the Razumovsky family following Vasil'čikov's death.

²⁷ Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, quoted in Géza Hajós, *Romantische Gärten der Aufklärung: Englische Landschaftskultur des 18. Jahrhunderts in und um Wien* (Vienna and Cologne, 1989), 210.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Chevalier Louis de Jaucourt, 'Garden', in *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*, trans. Ann-Marie Thornton (Ann Arbor, 2013), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0002.086> (accessed 20 May 2015). Trans. of 'Jardin', *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers*, viii. 459–8 at 460 (Paris, 1765). On the English garden as a 'garden of liberty', see also Rotenberg, *Landscape and Power*, 66–87.

I'm surrounded by wild scenery.³⁰ By embracing the English style, Razumovsky not only aligned himself with a fashionable aesthetic trend championed by among others Catherine the Great,³¹ but also followed in the footsteps of his close relatives in Russia who had cultivated extensive English gardens on their properties, including those at Gostilitsy (with its Tea House, bell tower, and cavernous grotto) and Gorenki (with its diverse collection of medicinal herbs, exotic fruit trees, and forest trees).³² He likewise invited comparisons between his garden and those of his Viennese peers, diplomats like Count Ludwig Cobenzl, whose English landscape garden was among the first and best-known in the city.³³

A well-composed garden could also serve explicitly diplomatic ends. Louis XIV regularly led foreign dignitaries through the gardens of Versailles on prearranged paths; the gardens were the final stop on a detailed itinerary that began with his guests' arrival in Paris.³⁴ While there is no evidence that Razumovsky's garden was used for formal diplomatic tours, it did serve as a site for sociable interaction among friends and guests. Razumovsky's sister-in-law Lulu Thürheim, recalling the year 1816–17, recounts that

The Tuesday suppers at Razumovsky's were among the most pleasant, especially in spring, when the music in the gardens, the illuminated terraces filled with many little set tables, the abundance of flowers that stood everywhere, and often the moonlight, which invited rapturous thoughts between the groves, gave the *Palais Rasumoffsky* a wholly oriental appearance.³⁵

While Thürheim does not specify where precisely these garden parties took place, several possibilities exist. We know from an account by Reichardt (quoted below) that the terrace connecting the main palace and the garden wing was used as an extension of the ceremonial hall during balls. Like many contemporary English gardens, however, Razumovsky's also featured a variety of structures that could serve as focal points for social activity. Thürheim describes a temple, a triangular tower, and greenhouses (the latter containing hydrangeas from the Queen of Naples, a pleasant memento of Razumovsky's time there as ambassador). It is difficult to discern precisely when all of these features were added. However, an 1806 plan confirms that a large rectangular greenhouse originally adjoined the riding school on the south-east end of the garden wing and that a nearby L-shaped passage doubled as winter gardens;³⁶

³⁰ Quoted in Annette Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque* (Cambridge, 2001), 213 (translation emended). The original is Gerhard von Breuning, *Aus dem Schwarzschanerhaus: Erinnerungen an L. van Beethoven aus meiner Jugendzeit* (Vienna, 1874), 74.

³¹ Catherine the Great fell 'madly in love with English gardens', positioning herself in direct opposition to Peter, who had championed French landscape design. Schönle, *Ruler in the Garden*, 48–9; quotation on p. 48.

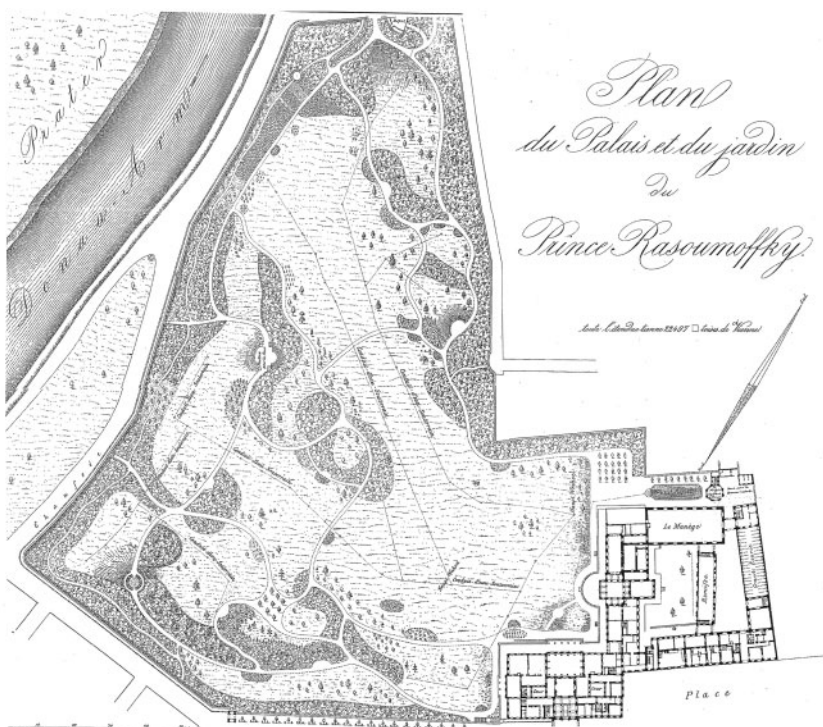
³² On Gostilitsy and Gorenki, see Peter Hayden, *Russian Parks and Gardens* (London, 2005), 152–3 and 183–4 respectively.

³³ Richards, *Free Fantasia*, 214–15.

³⁴ Berger and Hedin, *Diplomatic Tours*, 1.

³⁵ 'Die Dienstagsoupers bei Rasumoffsky gehörten zu den angenehmsten, besonders im Frühling, wenn die Musik in den Gärten, die erleuchteten und mit vielen, gedeckten, kleinen Tischen besetzten Terrassen, die Menge Blumen, die überall standen, und oftmals der Mondschein, der zum Schwärmen zwischen den Bosketten einlud, dem Palais Rasumoffsky ein ganz orientalisches Aussehen gaben.' Gräfin Lulu Thürheim, *Mein Leben: Erinnerungen aus Österreichs Grasser Welt*, trans. and ed. René van Rhyn, 4 vols. (Munich, 1913), ii, 194. Thürheim's use of the term 'oriental' here seems to describe a certain atmosphere rather than specific stylistic features; however, it is worth noting that Chinese and Japanese elements were highly fashionable among Russian estate owners at this time. See Dmitri Shvidkovsky, *The Empress and the Architect: British Architecture and Gardens at the Court of Catherine the Great* (New Haven and London, 1996), 167–83.

³⁶ Austrian National Library, Kartensammlung und Globenmuseum, ALB Port 14a,2.



PL. 3. *Plan of the Palace and Garden of Prince Razumovsky*. Facsimile of an undated plan (c. 1815 or later). In Alexandre Wassiltchikow, *Les Razoumowski*, trans. Alexandre Brückner, 3 vols. (Halle: Tausch & Grosse, 1893–4), ii/2, 403.

Reichardt visited these as early as December 1808.³⁷ A later, undated plan of the whole estate, reflecting the garden wing as reconstructed after the fire, shows a rectangular space of similar proportions to the greenhouse in roughly the same location (but not the winter gardens) (see Pl. 3). This later plan also indicates several enclosures in the garden proper, among which one is clearly identified as ‘Théâtre pour la fleur’, or a garden theatre (see Pl. 4). Part of the central arbour group, the open-air theatre, with its opposing pairs of square-shaped pillars, featured a semicircular stage across from an amphitheatrical seating area facing north-east (with views of the Danube canal and the Prater).³⁸ Large enough to accommodate performances of various kinds, it would have been an ideal setting for pastoral plays, the traditional entertainment for such a venue.

Within the representational context of the garden, the secluded garden theatre and other such spaces provided semi-private locales for socializing. Unlike the ordered *bosquets* or ornamental groves of French gardens (most notably at Versailles), laid out

³⁷ Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den Österreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809*, ed. Gustav Gugitz, 2 vols. (Munich, 1915), i, 230.

³⁸ Margarete Girardi briefly describes this theatre, though without naming it, in *Das Palais Rasumofsky: Geschichte und Schicksale eines Alt-Wiener Palastes* (Vienna, 1937), 16.



PL. 4. Detail of the plan showing the garden theatre

with geometrical precision according to principles of classical gardening, these spaces were designed to emerge imperceptibly from the meandering and picturesque landscape. As the cartographer Franz Anton Schrämbl put it in his account of Razumovsky's garden, 'not a single resting place comes to strike the eye of the astonished spectator and distracts it from the grand scene that it traverses; the idea is sublime and the execution most fortunate'.³⁹ By dint of this design, Razumovsky's garden, as a prime example of its type, differed from French gardens in the kind of experience it created for guests. While the French gardens at Versailles, for instance, highlighted the king's sovereignty through their precise geometrical forms, ornate statuary, and masterfully coordinated effects and surprises (the sudden activation of a fountain, for example)—thereby exposing the imbalance of power between host and guest—English gardens like Razumovsky's provided a more neutral space for interaction.⁴⁰ The 'natural' layout, ambling pathways, and hidden focal points of Razumovsky's garden were more appropriately suited to the informal sociability that characterized relations among early nineteenth-century diplomats.⁴¹

³⁹ 'pas un seul reposoir vient frapper l'oeil du spectateur étonné et le distraire de la grande scene qu'il parcourt, l'idée en est sublime et l'exécution des plus heureuses'. Franz Anton Schrämbl, *Description des principaux parcs et jardins de l'Europe avec des remarques sur le jardinage et les plantations, ouvrage enrichi d'estampes*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1812), i. 59.

⁴⁰ On the political symbolism of the French gardens at Versailles, see Gérard Sabatier, *Versailles ou la figure du Roi* (Paris, 1999) and Mukerji, 'Space and Political Pedagogy', among others.

⁴¹ On diplomatic sociability in this period, see Patricia Kennedy Grimstead, *The Foreign Ministers of Alexander I: Political Attitudes and the Conduct of Russian Diplomacy, 1801–1825* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), 14–16; Scott, 'Diplomatic Culture', 80; and Vick, *Congress of Vienna*, 112–52.

Architecture

While the garden represented a modish space, the palace itself reflected the classicizing impulse that dominated Russian architecture in the late eighteenth century. Peter the Great—following other European monarchs—had recognized that one way to gain credibility for the Russian state was to use Ancient Greece and Rome as models, claiming a higher legitimacy than could be afforded by comparisons with modern nation-states.⁴² This effort, which found its fullest realization in the stunning neoclassical edifices of St Petersburg, was paralleled throughout Russia in the city and country estates. It found its strongest proponent in Catherine the Great, who spurred architects to espouse ever grander proportions and a new sense of theatricality. The palace or estate complex not only exhibited personal wealth, it also became ‘a stage set on which the triumph, confidence, and enlightened ideals of the Catherinian era could be paraded’.⁴³ The desire to associate modern Russia with Ancient Greece extended to other arts as well. The Lvov-Pratsch Collection (1790), the anthology from which Beethoven borrowed several Russian folksongs (including those in the First and Second ‘Razumovsky’ Quartets, Op. 59), featured a lengthy preface on the alleged relationship between Russian folksong and ancient Greek odes. Comparing Russian folksongs to the odes of Pindar, the polymath Nikolai Lvov (1751–1804) expressed the hope that his anthology would contribute to the ‘recreation of Byzantium’s former grandeur under the scepter of the Russian tsar’.⁴⁴ Lvov himself was one of the great neoclassical architects of this period. In addition to designing numerous influential churches, palaces, and country estates, he published a translation and commentary on the first book of Palladio’s treatise (St Petersburg, 1798), seeking to adapt its classical ideals to the modern Russian climate.⁴⁵

Razumovsky’s so-called new winter palace, designed by the Belgian architect Louis Montoyer (court architect to the Habsburgs), was in many ways characteristic. In contrast to the symmetrical layout of French Baroque palaces, it has an irregular form (see Pl. 5).⁴⁶ The main wing, abutting what is now the *Rasumofskygasse*, forms a reverse ‘L’ shape with the longer garden wing, the latter being one side of a square-shaped group of buildings surrounding a central courtyard. Both wings give onto the garden, which extended north-east in dramatic fashion towards the canal. At the centre of the main wing lay a suite of three formal spaces—entry hall, cupola room, and ceremonial hall—the latter a grand rectangular space ornamented with sixteen imposing columns and high-relief friezes on the walls portraying scenes from Greek mythology.⁴⁷

⁴² As Wortman notes, Peter ‘was emulating a European monarch’s emulation of a classical model’. See Richard S. Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1995), i, 42–4; quotation on p. 44.

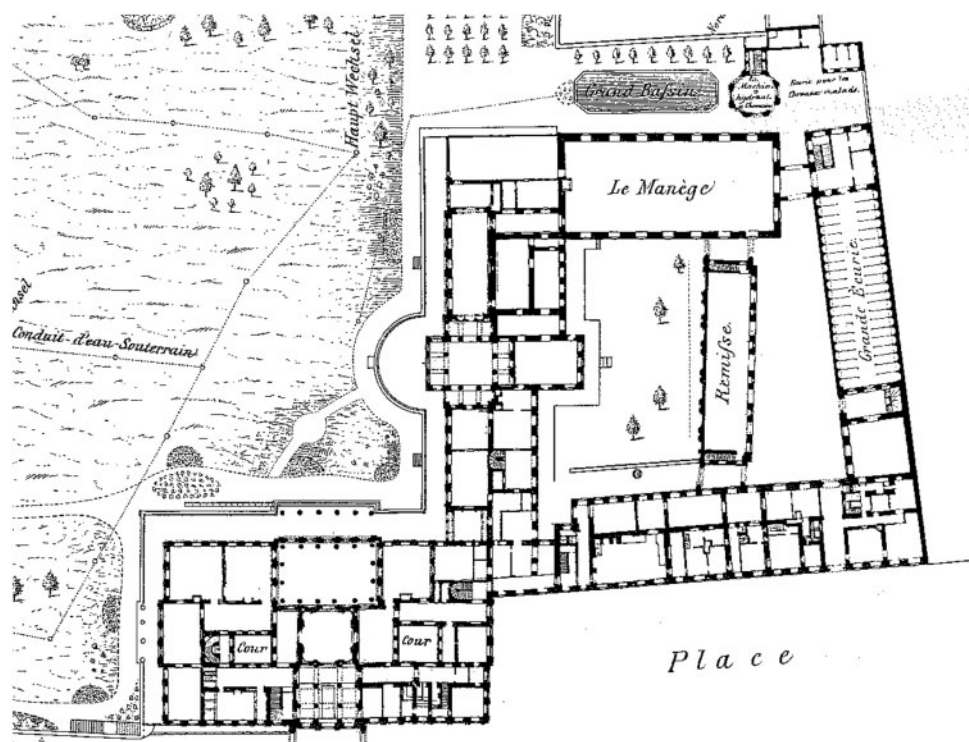
⁴³ Roosevelt, *Russian Country Estate*, 39.

⁴⁴ Malcolm Hamrick Brown (ed.), *A Collection of Russian Folk Songs by Nikolai Lvov and Ivan Prach*, facsimile edn. (Ann Arbor, 1987), 27 n. 108.

⁴⁵ N. A. Yevsina. ‘Lvov, Nikolai’, *Grove Art Online*, www.oxfordartonline.com, accessed 21 May 2015.

⁴⁶ An early architectural plan, with annotations in Razumovsky’s hand, depicts a symmetrical, open three-wing design not unlike those of Versailles and Schönbrunn. The next draft reflects what would essentially become the final form. See Hannes Stekl, *Österreichs Aristokratie im Vormärz: Herrschaftsstil und Lebensformen der Fürstenhäuser Liechtenstein und Schwarzenberg* (Vienna, 1973), 158–62, and Géza Hajós, ‘Das Palais Rasumofsky in Wien—Zur Stilistischen Abteilung des Bauwerkes’, *Alte und Moderne Kunst* XVI, no. 117 (1971), 15–18. The symmetrical layout was by no means restricted to Baroque palaces; see, for example, the plan for Potemkin’s neoclassical Tauride Palace in St Petersburg, designed by Lvov, in Dmitry Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West*, trans. Antony Wood (New Haven, 2007), 266. The design change was probably the result of the sloping topography of Razumovsky’s land.

⁴⁷ These spaces are described in Rupert Feuchtmüller, ‘Louis Montoyer und sein Palais Rasumofski in Wien’, in Gertrude Gsodam (ed.), *Festschrift W. Sas-Zaloziecky zum 60. Geburtstag* (Graz, 1956), 34–48 at 45–6, and Tillfried Cernajsek and Géza Hajós, ‘Palais Rasumofsky: Architektur und Baugeschichte’, in Christina Bachl-Hofmann,



PL. 5. Detail of the plan showing the palace floorplan

These three spaces formed an enfilade designed to direct one's attention and movement from the entry hall (with its four Tuscan columns embellishing the entry stair and half-columns set into the walls) through the cupola room (with its elaborate, eight-windowed dome, inset pillars, wall friezes, and ornamental niches for displaying statuary), to the ceremonial hall, the palace's focal point. Just beyond that was the garden, creating a fourfold psychological-architectural progression not unlike the topical sequence of movements in a symphony or string quartet: the entry hall served to announce the palace's neoclassical theme, the cupola room to invite quiet contemplation, the ceremonial hall to facilitate dancing and socializing, and the garden to immerse guests in nature. Other rooms included large apartments and salons, an impressive library, summer and winter offices for the Count, a separate chancellery office, a billiard room, stables, a carriage-house, and a riding school. An unusual and especially ostentatious feature for a private palace, the latter proved useful to the Russian state as a ceremonial space during the Congress of Vienna. The palace also boasted up-to-date amenities including heated floors and modern outfitted toilets, complete with water jets and bellows that perfumed the air with pleasant aromas.

Although neoclassical palaces (particularly in the new Empire style) were still relatively uncommon in Vienna in the early 1800s, Razumovsky would have encountered

Tillfried Cernajsek, Thomas Hofmann, and Albert Schedl (eds.), *Die Geologische Bundesanstalt in Wien: 150 Jahre Geologie im Dienste Österreichs (1849–1999)* (Vienna, 1999), 401–11 at 406–8. On the friezes, see Waltraud Neuirth, 'Die figuralen Stuckreliefs im Festsaal des Palais Rasumovský', *Alte und moderne Kunst*, 16, no. 117 (1971), 19–28.



PL. 6. *View of the Tomb of Nero, the Temple of Concord and Juno Lucine at Girgente*, 18th–19th century. Engraving by Francesco Morelli after a painting by Jakob Philipp Hackert. Courtesy of Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Gift of Belinda L. Randall from the collection of John Witt Randall, R12792. Photo: Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College

numerous examples in St Petersburg, Naples, and elsewhere during his travels. The Greek Temples of Concordia and Jupiter in Agrigento, Sicily may also have made an impression on the young diplomat's architectural sense. As recounted by Goethe, Razumovsky had the opportunity to tour the Italian countryside in the company of the artist Jakob Philipp Hackert while a diplomat in Naples.⁴⁸ Among Hackert's paintings from the period is a landscape depicting the two temples at Agrigento, perched on a ridge behind the tower-like Tomb of Nero. The painting, dedicated to Razumovsky, is one of the few art works known to have been acquired by him before the fire; it survives as an engraving (see Pl. 6). The antique aura, pastoral landscape, and elevated position of the temples anticipate elements of Razumovsky's neoclassical palace and garden. Perhaps he hoped to recapture some of the theatricality of the untamed Sicilian countryside when he set out to design his new palace. In any case, he made a point of emphasizing his own role in the design process, commissioning a portrait by Johann Baptist Lampi that depicts him seated in front of a Tuscan column with his hand on the palace plans (see Pl. 7).

Alexander I recognized the palace's theatrical potential, borrowing it during the Congress of Vienna for lavish festivities and diplomatic soirées. Auguste de La Garde

⁴⁸ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Philipp Hackert: Biographische Skizze, meist nach dessen eigenen Aufsätzen* (Tübingen, 1811), 149–51.



PL. 7. Andrey Kirillovich Razumovsky with the plans to his palace. Portrait by Johann Baptist Lampi (1775–1837). Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien / De Agostini Picture Library / A. Dagli Orti / Bridgeman Images

describes a birthday celebration in honour of the Tsar's sister at which all the sovereigns and distinguished guests were present. The brilliantly illuminated party in the riding school (converted into a ballroom) began with the 'inevitable and methodical polonaise', before transitioning to more exotic fare: a Muscovite *divertissement* danced by the Imperial Theatre's *corps de ballet*, a Russian couple's dance in Muscovite garb, and mazurkas.⁴⁹ At about two in the morning, 'they threw open the huge supper-room, lighted by thousands of wax candles'.⁵⁰ Guests enjoyed delicacies from across

⁴⁹ Auguste-Louis-Charles de La Garde-Chambonas, *Anecdotal Recollections of the Congress of Vienna*, trans. Albert Dresden Vandam with introduction and notes by Maurice Fleury (London, 1902), 214.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 215.

Europe, ranging from English strawberries and French grapes to Volga sturgeon and pineapples grown in the imperial hothouses in Moscow. La Garde himself notes that his recollections of the event (recorded nearly three decades after the Congress) may not be entirely trustworthy, and, indeed, scholars remain divided on his reliability as a witness.⁵¹ Nonetheless, it is clear that the palace served as a hub of political sociability during the Congress, as indicated by a similar account by Thürheim:

Another more serious and more poetic feast was that of the anniversary of the Battle of *Leipzig*. After a great manoeuvre, the officers of the various corps were served a dinner on innumerable tables in the Prater, while the soldiers lay on the grass around a great kettle. The sovereigns, princes, commanding generals, and several distinguished figures dined in [Razumovsky's] beautiful palace on the *Landstrasse*. The riding school was picturesquely decorated with numerous banner-trophies and Razumovsky consecrated it festively with this event.⁵²

For Alexander, residing at the Hofburg, Razumovsky's palace provided an independent space to conduct international affairs and oversee displays of his nation's wealth and might during the Congress. Razumovsky—no longer an active diplomat—was reinstated as plenipotentiary and participated in negotiations. He also hosted the events that characterized the Russian nation through dance, music, food, and décor. His palace, with its imposing halls and neoclassical details, its sumptuous apartments, its impressive art collection, and its library of rare books and manuscripts from across the Continent offered compelling visual evidence for Russia's status as a modern superpower.⁵³

Music

Diplomatic residences were among the most important venues for music-making in Vienna in the late eighteenth century, rivalling the salons of the local nobility. Count Zinzendorf documented a variety of concerts between July 1783 and March 1792 at foreign embassies; most prominent of all were concerts at the house of Prince Dmitri Golitsyn, Razumovsky's predecessor.⁵⁴ Although no consistent account of musical life at the Razumovsky Palace survives, sources such as Razumovsky's correspondence and estate papers, contemporary travel reports and memoirs, descriptions of the palace during the Congress of Vienna, and musical scores with dedications to the ambassador help to reconstruct it. Musical entertainments ranged from balls and garden

⁵¹ On La Garde as unreliable witness, see Constantin de Grunwald, *La Vie de Metternich* (Paris, 1938), 155–6, and Philip Mansel, *Prince of Europe: The Life of Charles-Joseph de Ligne, 1735–1814* (London, 2003), 318. I thank Damien Mahiet for these references.

⁵² 'Ein anderes ernsteres und mehr poetisches Fest war das des Jahrestages der Schlacht von *Leipzig*. Nach einem großen Manöver würde den Offizieren der verschiedenen Korps ein Diner auf unzähligen Tischen im Prater serviert, während die Soldaten um große Kochkessel auf dem Rasen lagerten. Die Souveräne, Prinzen, kommandierenden Generäle und mehrere hervorragende Persönlichkeiten dinierten in seinem schönen Palais auf der Landstraße. Die Reitschule war mit vielen Fahmentrophäen malerisch ausgestattet worden und Rasumoffsky weihte sie mit dieser Veranstaltung festlich ein.' Thürheim, *Mein Leben*, ii, 107–8.

⁵³ On Russia's leading position after the Congress, see Janet M. Hartley, 'Is Russia Part of Europe? Russian Perceptions of Europe in the Reign of Alexander I', *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 33 (1992), 369–385 at 373.

⁵⁴ Other documented concerts took place at the residences of the British ambassador (Sir Robert Murray Keith), the Venetian ambassador (Daniele Andrea Delfini), the Neapolitan ambassador (Marzio Mastrilli), and the Prussian and Saxon envoys. Dorothea Link, 'Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783–92, as Reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 122 (1997), 205–57. On Golitsyn (also an avid art collector), see Maria Petrova, 'The Diplomats of Catherine II as Cultural Intermediaries: The Case of the Princes Golitsyn', in Vanessa Alayrac-Fielding and Ellen R. Welch (eds.), *Intermédiaires culturels/Cultural Intermediaries: Séminaire international des jeunes dix-huitiémistes (2010: Belfast)* (Paris, 2015), 83–100.

parties to intimate concerts of ‘serious’ music, especially quartets. In the palace’s grandest spaces, music combined with dance and architectural splendour to create impressive multimedia displays.

Larger entertainments ordinarily took place in the palace’s ceremonial hall, the grand temple-like space that gave onto the garden. Balls were especially extravagant, with the dancing often continuing through the night and into the next morning. Thürheim notes that at Razumovsky’s such events ‘always ended with a luncheon around nine or ten o’clock the next morning. In these cases the ladies freshened up [*wechselten ihre Toilette*] in specially designated rooms [*Kabinetten*] and the bravest among them even went to the Prater before returning home’.⁵⁵ During his stay in Vienna in 1808, the Berlin composer and music theorist Johann Friedrich Reichardt attended a ball at the palace, recording the following memory:

Here, towards the end of Carnival, the pleasure of dancing intensifies to a rage. . . . A grand ball, given by Princess Lubomirska, lasted until ten o’clock the next morning. An equally brilliant ball of Count Razumovsky, which followed immediately afterward, continued until noon the next day. This one, during the beautiful spring weather that we had for a while, made for a pleasant and fantastic event, after which we danced in his great, beautiful locale in a hall with one open side, and had the view of a beautiful and brilliantly illuminated part of the garden.⁵⁶

Neither Thürheim nor Reichardt describes specific musical works or composers featured during these balls. As a category of functional music, ballroom dances were rarely described in detail in contemporary writings. However, a manuscript of polonaises by Franz Weiss (a musician in Razumovsky’s service), preserved in the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, provides a specific example of ballroom music heard in the palace. Arranged for piano, this set of three ‘favourite polonaises’ dedicated to Empress Elizabeth Alexievna was, according to the title page, performed at balls in the palace.⁵⁷ Associated with the high nobility (and often dedicated to the monarchs of Poland, Saxony, and Russia), the polonaise, inevitably the first dance of the evening, was an exclusively elite affair. As Birgit Lodes has shown, there was a tradition of dedicating polonaises to Empress Elizabeth. Weiss’s three polonaises may be added to Lodes’s list of such pieces, a list that includes Beethoven’s Op. 89 and seventeen polonaises by Józef Kozłowski.⁵⁸

Although the ceremonial hall was ideal for dancing and large enough to accommodate orchestral music, its rectangular design and bulky columns made for poor acoustics. Margarete Girardi, in a chronicle of the palace’s history, observed that every

⁵⁵ Thürheim, *Mein Leben*, i. 135.

⁵⁶ ‘Die Tanzlust steigt jetzt hier gegen Ende des Faschings bis zur Tanzwut. . . . Ein großer Ball, den die Fürstin Lubomirska gab, dauerte bis zehn Uhr des anderen Morgens. Ein ebensogländer Ball des Grafen Rasumowski, der gleich darauf folgte, währte bis zum anderen Mittag. Dieser hatte noch dazu bei dem schönen Frühlingswetter, das wir eine Zeitlang wieder gehabt, eine angenehme, phantastische Veranstaltung dazu getroffen, nach welcher man in seinem großen schönen Lokale in einem Saale tanzte, dessen eine Seite offen ist und den Blick nach einer schönen Gartenpartie hat, die glänzend erleuchtet war.’ Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe*, i. 322–3.

⁵⁷ The title page reads: *Favorit Polonaisen | mit Trios | für das Piano-Forte | componirt und | Ihrer Majestat | der regierenden Kaiserin aller Reussen | Elisabetha Alexiewna | in tiefster Ehrfurcht geweiht, | und producirt in Wien 817. | bey den Bällen des Kaiserlich russischen geheimen Raths, | Herrn Grafen v. Rasumoffsky Excellens etc. etc. | von F. Weiss* [Favourite polonaises with trios, composed and most reverently dedicated to Her Majesty the Reigning Empress of all the Russias, Elizabeth Alexievna, and produced in Vienna, 1817 [*recte*: 1814?], at the balls of His Excellence the Imperial Russian Privy Council Mr Count von Razumovsky, etc., etc.]. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Mus. Ms. 3104.

⁵⁸ Birgit Lodes, ‘“Le congrès danse”: Set Form and Improvisation in Beethoven’s Polonaise for Piano, Op. 89’, trans. Sabine Ladislav, *Musical Quarterly*, 93 (2010), 414–49; list on 419–21.

whisper in the hall could be heard ‘with frightening clarity’ in the adjoining alcoves (a fact that may well have been used to diplomatic advantage).⁵⁹ Nonetheless, more formal entertainments involving orchestral music probably took place here as well. While the majority of works dedicated to Razumovsky are for chamber ensembles (especially string quartet), his interest in orchestral music is suggested by three large-scale works dedicated to him, all dating from the period of the palace’s construction: Johann Nepomuk Hummel’s Concerto for Violin and Piano, Op. 17 (c.1805) and Beethoven’s Fifth and Sixth Symphonies, Opp. 67 and 68 (1808). The latter works constitute a highly unusual double dedication to Razumovsky and Prince Lobkowitz, possibly indicating that both patrons organized trial performances of these works before their ‘public’ premiere at Beethoven’s marathon *Akademie* of 22 December 1808.⁶⁰

A different dimension of the palace’s musical life was its intimate chamber concerts. Such events are said to have taken place in the so-called White Hall (later dubbed ‘Beethoven Hall’), the central hall in the palace’s garden wing.⁶¹ Chamber music had already been an important part of the Razumovskys’ salon life in their previous residences. But it took on greater significance when, around 1808, the ambassador established a resident string quartet, led by the virtuoso Ignaz Schuppanzigh, and arranged for weekly concerts in his new palace.⁶² Here, as elsewhere, he spared little expense, offering his four musicians—Schuppanzigh (first violin), Louis Sina (second violin, when the Count himself was not playing), Franz Weiss (viola), and Joseph Linke (cello)—lifelong contracts as well as (in the case of Weiss and his family) lodging on the palace grounds.⁶³ Although the quartet disbanded in 1816 not long after the fire, two of its members—Schuppanzigh and Weiss—continued to receive substantial pensions for the rest of their lives. Of the fourteen pensioned individuals named in Razumovsky’s *Verlassenschaft*, only three (the gardener Rosenthal, the secretary of the chancellery, and the chambermaid) received monthly pensions larger than those of the two musicians.⁶⁴ Like both garden and palace, music marked an intersection between private taste and public display. By engaging ‘the first string quartet of Europe’ as his resident ensemble, Razumovsky solidified his role as one of the foremost musical patrons in Vienna.⁶⁵

One gleans from Reichardt’s account a sense of the exclusive, connoisseur-oriented atmosphere of these weekly concerts: ‘Last Thursday we heard [the Schuppanzigh

⁵⁹ Girardi, *Palais Rasumofsky*, 15.

⁶⁰ On Beethoven and trial performances, see Tomislav Volek and Jaroslav Macek, ‘Beethoven’s Rehearsals at the Lobkowitz’s’, *Musical Times*, 127/1716 (Feb. 1986), 75–80.

⁶¹ Cernajsek and Hajós, ‘Palais Rasumofsky’, 410. The White Hall, with its cross-shaped layout and Tuscan columns, was not part of the original design but rather stems from Joseph Meissl’s reconstruction of the garden wing after the fire. The hall replaced a smaller, square-shaped hall originally situated between the Count’s winter and summer offices, described in the 1806 plan as ‘Salon Claire du haut, ou vien[t] une figure de Canova au milieu’ (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Kartensammlung und Globenmuseum, ALB Port 14a,2). That this was the so-called *Canova-Saal* in the making is confirmed by Razumovsky’s description of the hall in an 1812 letter, cited in Roberto Pancheri, ‘Una Danzatrice per l’ambasciatore: trionfo e fine di un sogno canoviano’, in Mario Guderzo (ed.), *Canova e la danza. Catalogo della mostra (Museo e Gipsoteca Antonio Canova, Possagno, 3 marzo–30 settembre 2012)* (Crocetta del Montello, [2012]), 183–91 at 187. The plan depicted in Lampi’s portrait of Razumovsky (Plate 7) shows the garden wing in its original layout.

⁶² See Wassiltchikow, *Les Razoumowski*, ii/2, 81–4. On Schuppanzigh, see John M. Gingerich, ‘Ignaz Schuppanzigh and Beethoven’s Late Quartets’, *Musical Quarterly*, 93 (2010), 450–513.

⁶³ Robert Winter, ‘Performing the Beethoven Quartets in their First Century’, in Robert Winter and Robert Martin (eds.), *The Beethoven Quartet Companion* (Berkeley, 1994), 29–57 at 34–41.

⁶⁴ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna, ‘Razumofski fürst Verlassenschaft’, HStA HA OmaA 72-26: II/495a (1836).

⁶⁵ *Thayer’s Life of Beethoven*, ed. Eliot Forbes, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1970), i, 444, without attribution.

Quartet] for the first time; there was not a particularly large company there; however, it consisted entirely of very keen and attentive friends of music, and that is just the right audience for this finest and most comfortable of all music societies.⁶⁶ As perhaps the earliest standing professional string quartet, the Schuppanzigh Quartet set a new standard for quartet performances, a standard to which Beethoven eagerly responded beginning with his Op. 59 quartets dedicated to the ambassador. As is well known, he included Russian folksongs from the Lvov-Pratsch Collection in each of the first two quartets, marking their appearances in French in the first printed edition. While it is impossible to know whether the inclusion of these themes was Beethoven's or Razumovsky's idea, the gesture of their inclusion is significant. Indeed, the presence of the two Russian themes personalizes these quartets in ways that reflect both Razumovsky's heritage and his professional position as an intermediary between Russia and Austria. This personalization is evident not only in the presence of the Russian themes but also in their musical treatment, which seems designed to appeal to Razumovsky's erudite musical sensibility through such learned devices as melodic fragmentation and recombination, harmonic and rhythmic reinterpretation, and fugal technique.⁶⁷ Razumovsky, it should be noted, studied music theory and quartet composition with the eminent theorist Emanuel Aloys Förster on Beethoven's recommendation.⁶⁸

Further evidence of the personal character of Op. 59 appears on the dedication page of the first printed edition (see Pl. 8). Here, musical patronage, familial pride, and a public display of cosmopolitanism meet head on. On one hand, the loquacious dedication reflects the Russian preoccupation with rank, a consequence of Peter the Great's introduction of the European-style *Table of Ranks* in 1722.⁶⁹ On the other hand, it contains a personal element in the icon of the Razumovsky coat of arms, emblazoned with the motto 'Famam extendere factis' (To extend one's fame by deeds) (see Pl. 9). Ironically, the 'deed' that would extend Razumovsky's fame more than any other was musical patronage. Nonetheless, knowledgeable contemporaries would have understood the motto both as a proclamation of the Razumovsky family's service and loyalty to the Tsar and as a classicizing reference to Virgil's *Aeneid* (10. 468), an epic that enjoyed special popularity in Russia during the reign of Catherine the Great.⁷⁰ The coat of arms also appears on two other extant works dedicated to the ambassador, Hackert's painting of the Tomb of Nero and Temple of Jupiter in Agrigento (see Pl. 6 above) and Weiss's Two String Quartets, Op. 8 (1814). The dedication page of the latter was clearly modelled on that of Beethoven's Op. 59 (see Pl. 10).

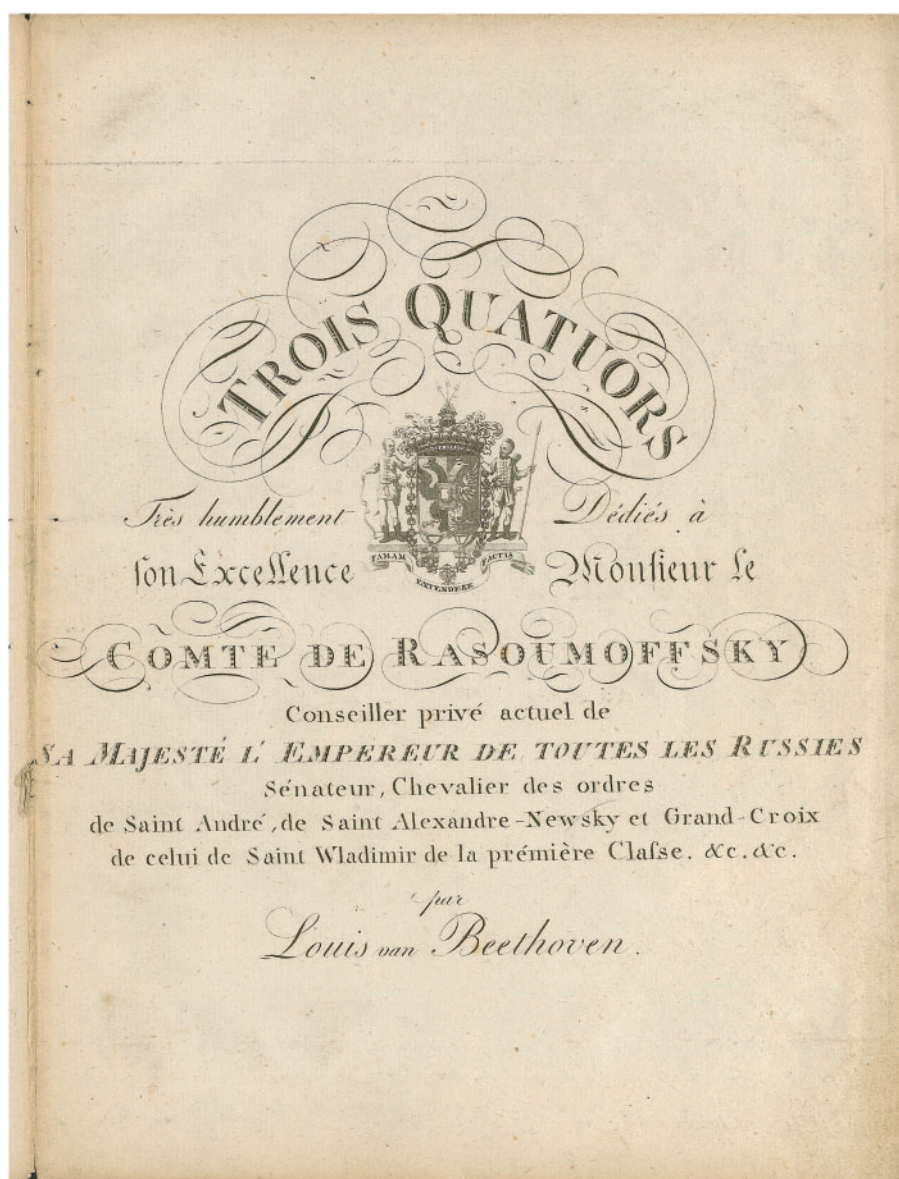
⁶⁶ 'Den vorigen Donnerstag hörten wir es zum ersten Mahl; es war noch eben keine große Gesellschaft da, sie bestand aber aus lauter sehr eifrigen aufmerksamen Musikfreunden, und das ist eben das rechte Publikum für diese feinste und gemüthlichste alle Musikvereine.' Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe*, i. 163.

⁶⁷ See Mark Ferraguto, 'Beethoven à la moujik: Russianness and Learned Style in the "Razumovsky" String Quartets', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 67 (2014), 71–123, esp. 104–12.

⁶⁸ Förster's son recalled that '[T]he Count's carriage used to come at the appointed hour two or three times a week to take his father to the Palace in the Landstrasse suburb. The evening hours had been chosen [for these lessons]: Frau Förster often made use of the carriage and visited her friend Frau Weiss, the wife of the viola player, while their husbands were busy with Razumovsky.' Quoted and trans. in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Beethoven: A Documentary Study* (London, 1970), 136–7.

⁶⁹ See Wortman, *Scenarios*, i. 53–4, and Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (New York, 2002), 18–19.

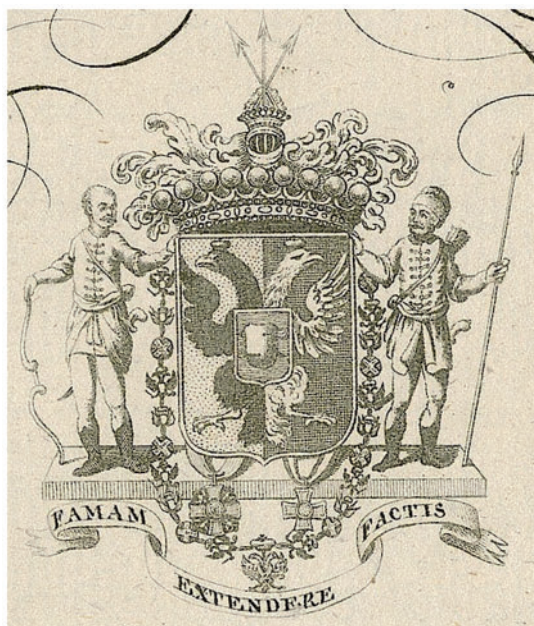
⁷⁰ See Andrew Kahn, 'Readings of Imperial Rome from Lomonsov to Pushkin', *Slavic Review*, 52 (1993), 752–6, and Zara Martirosova Torlone, *Virgil in Russia: National Identity and Classical Reception* (Oxford, 2014).



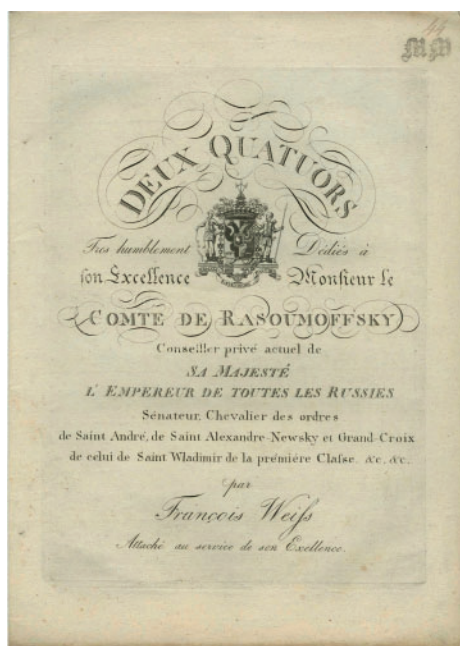
PL. 8. Dedication page of Ludwig van Beethoven, *Trois Quatuors pour deux Violons, Alto, et Violoncello*, Op. 59 (Vienna: Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie, 1808). From the collections of the Beethoven-Haus Bonn, www.beethoven-haus-bonn.de

Music also figured more explicitly in Razumovsky's professional activities.⁷¹ Like other diplomats abroad, he was responsible for acquiring cultural artefacts and recruiting personnel for his home court. An early example appears in a 1795 letter from

⁷¹ Music-making in the palace occurred in other contexts as well. As Reichardt notes, Razumovsky's librarian Paul Bigot had an apartment in the palace, as did other artists and musicians in his service. Paul's wife



PL. 9. Detail of Razumovsky coat of arms from Beethoven, *Trois Quatuors* (1808)



PL. 10. Dedication page of Franz Weiss, *Deux Quatuors pour deux Violons, Alto, et Violoncello* (Vienna: S. A. Steiner, 1814). Courtesy of The Classical String Quartet, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University

Razumovsky to Count Platon Zubov, a favourite of Catherine the Great. The Empress had commissioned Razumovsky (in Vienna) to acquire new musical scores and good Italian violin strings (the latter apparently being difficult to procure in St Petersburg). Razumovsky's response acknowledges his fulfilment of the commission but goes on to provide a musical report of sorts, updating the Russian court on goings-on in the Austrian capital:

As regards music, I have not taken but 14 florins' worth from the different good composers of this city, being that which is the most new for the moment, and knowing besides that the music shops of St Petersburg are well stocked in every genre. The loss of the famous Mozart and the absence of Haydn [on his second tour to London] leave us here in penury in this respect, and the other composers, all greenhorns compared to these two, hardly dare to present something to the public for fear of not being able to sell their feeble productions. I strongly regret that the last six quartets of Haydn that I heard with the greatest pleasure are not available for purchase. Having been composed two years ago for someone who paid one hundred ducats for exclusive rights during the first year, they will probably not be engraved and put up for sale until Haydn, who is very attentive to his interests, has exhausted the resource of selling them personally in England as expensively as possible. If Your Excellency were curious to have them before this time, it would be necessary that the commission were given [to the Russian minister] in London so that it may reach the composer himself.⁷²

Here, Razumovsky acts as a musical agent, not only providing a first-hand report of musical life in Vienna,⁷³ but also offering advice about how to obtain new quartets by Europe's leading composer.⁷⁴ The letter underscores both his connoisseurship and his role in facilitating musical connections between Vienna and St Petersburg.

An equally remarkable instance of Razumovsky's activities in this regard involves a September 1791 letter to Prince Potemkin, offering to send him 'the first pianist and one of the ablest composers in Germany—the one named Mozart'. Evidently, Mozart had seriously considered the opportunity:

Being unhappy here, he would be willing to undertake the voyage. He is in Bohemia now [staging *La Clemenza di Tito* in Prague], but will be back soon. Should Your Highness so au-

Marie, a talented pianist, regularly performed works by Haydn, Mozart, and her mentor Beethoven. See Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe*, i, 230–1 and 269–71.

⁷² 'En fait de musique je n'en ai pris que pour la valeur de 14 florins de différents bons auteurs de cette ville, comme étant ce qu'il y a de plus nouveau pour le moment et sachant d'ailleurs, que les magasins de musique de Pétersbourg sont bien assortis en tout genre. La perte du fameux Mozart et l'absence de Haydn nous laissent ici dans la pénurie à cet égard, et les autres compositeurs tous bien subalternes vis-à-vis de ces deux-là, osent à peine donner quelque chose au public dans la crainte de n'avoir point le débit de leurs faibles productions. J'ai bien du regret, que les six derniers quatuors de Haydn que j'ai entendus avec le plus grand plaisir, ne se trouvent pas à acheter. Ayant été composés, il y a deux ans, pour quelqu'un qui en paya 100 ducats la jouissance exclusive pendant la première année, ils ne seront probablement gravés et mis en vente que quand Haydn, qui est très attentif à ses intérêts, aura épuisé la ressource de les débiter personnellement en Angleterre aussi chèrement que possible. Si donc V. E. était curieuse de les avoir avant ce temps, il faudrait que la commission en fut donnée à Londres pour qu'on s'y adresse à l'auteur lui-même.' Razumovsky to Zubov, n. d. [spring 1795], in Wassiltchikow, *Les Razoumowski*, ii/4, 26.

⁷³ The state of musical 'penury' Razumovsky describes is illuminating, insofar as it further emphasizes the ways in which social conditions in Vienna were primed for Beethoven's rise to prominence. Beethoven made his public debut in the city on 29 Mar. 1795, soliciting subscriptions for his Three String Trios, Op. 1 in May. Razumovsky and his wife are on the list of subscribers who took two or more copies. See Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna, 1792–1803* (Berkeley, 1995), 139.

⁷⁴ The quartets were almost certainly Haydn's Op. 71/74, a set of six quartets composed in 1793 and dedicated to Count Apponyi. Apponyi paid 100 ducats for the privilege of owning the rights to the quartets for the first year, after which they were sold. Beethoven would negotiate a similar deal with Razumovsky for the rights to the Op. 59 quartets.

thorize me, I will engage him, not for the long term, but simply so that you might hear him and then decide whether or not to employ him.⁷⁵

Potemkin's answer is lost; both he and Mozart had passed away by year's end. Helen Jacobsen has emphasized that diplomatic gift-giving, in addition to reflecting personal prestige and political stature, was a competitive means through which diplomats of a certain nation jockeyed for position with their home courts.⁷⁶ In arranging to dispatch Mozart to Potemkin, Razumovsky sought to benefit himself as well as the crown.

The diplomatic exchange of musical gifts, including everything from scores and instruments to musicians themselves, could also be used as a tactic to strengthen political relations between courts. Joseph II, for example, entrusted the Austrian ambassador Count Cobenzl with 'two choral pieces for Prince Potemkin's orchestra' as a token of their alliance.⁷⁷ Potemkin was especially receptive to such gifts: an amateur composer himself, he maintained a collection of private court choirs and orchestras (among which the serf orchestra he had purchased from Razumovsky's father Kirill), and brought his musicians with him wherever he went, including the battlefield.⁷⁸

Whether or not such gifts actually made their intended impact, they underscore the fact that diplomats were the stewards of a unique marketplace for musical commodities. While the consumers in this transnational royal marketplace were few, they offered the highest possible level of patronage. Beethoven, recognizing this, leveraged his diplomatic connections to apply for subscriptions from foreign monarchs. In 1813, for instance, he made use of Razumovsky's couriers to dispatch a copy of his battle symphony *Wellington's Victory* to King George IV of England.⁷⁹ And in 1823 he made use of multiple foreign embassies in a complex plan to market his *Missa Solemnis*—in the words of Esteban Buch—to 'the entire Concert of Europe'.⁸⁰ Among the subscribers were Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia, Louis XVIII of France, Frederick VI of Denmark, King Friedrich August of Saxony, and Alexander I of Russia. In effect, diplomatic patronage opened up two separate markets for the composer: that of the wealthy diplomats, and that of their still wealthier sovereigns. Razumovsky's activities as musical diplomat exemplify a system through which both diplomats and musicians could profit, not just through private consumption, but also through public association with monarchs and nations.⁸¹

FEMININE REPRESENTATIONS: COUNTESS ELIZABETH VON THUN-HOHNSTEIN AS SALONNIÈRE

Viewed from a larger perspective, Razumovsky's cultivation of horticulture, architecture, and music raises intriguing questions about the role of individual taste in

⁷⁵ Razumovsky to Potemkin, 15 Sept. 1791, quoted in Wassiltchikow, *Les Razoumowski*, ii/1, 133–4.

⁷⁶ Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, 68.

⁷⁷ Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Prince of Princes: The Life of Potemkin* (New York, 2000), 331.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 330–2.

⁷⁹ Beethoven to King George IV of England, 24 Feb. 1823, in *The Letters of Beethoven*, ed. and trans. Emily Anderson, 3 vols. (New York, 1961), iii. 1004. In the letter, Beethoven writes to the King politely asking for confirmation that the piece sent ten years earlier had been received, although he knew from secondhand sources it had already been premiered and widely approved in England.

⁸⁰ Esteban Buch, *Beethoven's Ninth: A Political History* (Chicago and London, 2003), 93.

⁸¹ For a broader account of diplomats' musical activities in this period, see Mark Ferraguto, 'Diplomats as Musical Agents in the Age of Haydn', *Haydn: Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America*, 5, no. 2 (Fall 2015), <http://haydnjournal.org>.

shaping the cultural programme of a nation. Jakob Hort has considered this issue in his recent study of European embassy architecture, asking 'Who, or rather whose ideas, does an embassy actually represent: the state, the nation, the monarchy, the monarch, the ambassador, or a certain artistic and architectural movement?'⁸² To be sure, an edifice or artefact can be mobilized to represent all kinds of things; in the diplomatic context, it might mediate or transform as many messages, personae, or hierarchies as there are interpreters. At the same time, and crucially, a diplomat's actions and preferences could themselves be mediated in complex ways by other actors—and none more so than his spouse. Though women would not officially be recognized as ambassadors until the twentieth century, they contributed to ambassadorial practices long before that. In the Napoleonic period, women led salons at diplomatic residences, where they fostered an atmosphere of intellectual, cultural, and political exchange marked by galant sociability. Music and literature played a prominent role, of course; however, these gatherings revolved around not merely entertainment and discussion but also political activism. The liberal salons of Germaine de Staël (1766–1817), for instance, so rankled Napoleon that, in 1803, he ordered her to keep a distance of 40 leagues from Paris at all times, resulting in her ten-year exile. While there is no doubt that women like Staël influenced the contours of nineteenth-century political life, the history of 'feminine diplomacy' is only now being written.⁸³

Razumovsky's first wife, Countess Maria Elizabeth von Thun-Hohenstein (1764–1806), provides a valuable case study. The daughter of Mozart's patron Countess Maria Wilhelmine von Thun-Hohenstein (1744–1800) and sister-in-law of Beethoven's patron Prince Karl Lichnowsky (1761–1814), she married Razumovsky in 1788, cementing his position among the Austrian elite. She became known as a prominent *salonnière* during Razumovsky's tenure as ambassador (1792–9 and 1801–7), especially after the death of her mother in 1800. Together, the couple hosted an eclectic cross-section of high society, including distinguished foreigners, enemies of France and Bonaparte, and the remnants of the French monarchy (among which Louis XVI's daughter and Marie Antoinette's favourite hairdresser Léonard).⁸⁴ The salon became known as a hub of anti-Bonapartist sentiment; by 1803, its regular guests included the radical anti-Bonapartists Friedrich von Gentz, Pozzo di Borgo, and Gustaf Armfeldt. Gentz's recollections highlight the political character of these gatherings as well as the leading role played by the Countess: 'Pozzo di Borgo was a member of the ladies' circle of Countess Razumovsky, where the cream of good society assembled and Armfeldt, Pozzo, and I formed a kind of political three-leaf clover.'⁸⁵ Through salon sociability, the Countess worked together with her husband to encourage the exchange of ideas, if not to foment partisan opinion.

⁸² 'Insofern ist immer zu fragen: Wen bzw. wessen Vorstellungen repräsentiert eine Botschaft eigentlich: den Staat, die Nation, die Monarchie, den Monarchen, den Botschafter oder eine bestimmte Kunst- und Architekturströmung?' Hort, *Architektur der Diplomatie*, 12.

⁸³ For broader perspectives, see Mori, *Culture of Diplomacy*, 62–85 (and the list of British diplomatic spouses in Appendix B), and Vick, *Congress of Vienna*, 12–52. Case studies include John Charmley and Jennifer Davey, 'The Invisible Politician: Mary Derby and the Eastern Crisis', in John Fisher and Anthony Best (eds.), *On the Fringes of Diplomacy: Influences on British Foreign Policy, 1800–1945* (Farnham and Burlington, Vt., 2011), 17–34; Anne-Madeleine Goulet, 'The Princesse des Ursins, Loyal Subject of the King of France and Foreign Princess in Rome', trans. Rebekah Ahrendt, in Ahrendt et al. (eds.), *Music and Diplomacy*, 191–207; and Glenda Sluga, 'Madame de Staël and the Transformation of European Politics, 1812–17', *International History Review*, 37 (2015), 142–66.

⁸⁴ See Wassiltchikow, *Les Razoumowski*, ii/2, 79–80.

⁸⁵ 'Pozzo di Borgo war Mitglied des Damen-Zirkels bei der Gräfin Rasoumoffsky, wo sich die Crème der guten Gesellschaft versammelte, und Armfeldt, Pozzo und ich eine Art von politischem Kleeblatt bildeten.' Friedrich von Gentz, *Tagebücher: Mit einem Vor- und Nachwort von K. A. Varnhagen von Ense* (Leipzig, 1861), 36.

The Countess also served as a political informant and confidante, as illustrated by a suite of letters she sent to the ambassador during her Italian sojourn of 1804. Seeking to recuperate from illness, she visited Florence and Rome on the way to Naples, travelling freely thanks to her privileged status as *ambasadrice* ('I have passed effortlessly through all the republics without being inconvenienced by customs, thanks to the passport you sent me...').⁸⁶ Razumovsky's Neapolitan connections ensured that she would be among a familiar and distinguished company, including the King and Queen, both of whom took a special liking to her. Embedded in the network of the Neapolitan elite, she heard the latest rumours about troop movements, observed the arrivals and departures of officials, monitored the Queen's health, and assessed the general state of affairs. Her letters also document her attendance at musical and theatrical entertainments, her encounters with art and architecture, and even the latest eruptions of Mount Vesuvius ('what I saw of it from afar struck me as the most astonishing and majestic thing that exists. As beautiful as it all is, still he is a nasty and disturbing neighbour').⁸⁷ All of this she reported to her husband in the course of an informal and intimate correspondence that underscores the fluidity of personal and professional interactions within the elite class.

The letters also indicate that Elizabeth kept abreast of the palace's construction in Vienna and took an active role in its design. Her encounter with the diplomat Norbert Hadrava in Naples offers evidence of her influence in this regard. Transitioning seamlessly from matters musical to architectural, the passage deserves to be quoted in full:

I just saw Hadrava, who made me subscribe for some keyboard sonatas that I will never play. But he spoke to me about something that I find quite tempting for our new house. Here's what it is. There is in the Villa Favorita a superb mosaic parquet taken from the palace of Tiberius at Capri. There are still two to have, of which the very beautiful one is not yet unearthed, but will be, if you want, and [will be] brought to Vienna in six months. The price does not seem exorbitant to me. It is in the neighbourhood of 1500 florins. I have thus commissioned colourized drawings of the two, as well as the measurements and description of the different qualities of marble. I will send them to you so you can choose. This would be lovely for one of the garden rooms, and Mr Hadrava says that they are just as large as that of the Favorita. But the fellow could pass for a Jew, something I would easily believe given the manner in which he made me take the sonatas.⁸⁸

Composer of numerous keyboard sonatas, developer of the *lira organizzata* (which he taught the King of Naples to play), and active promoter of German and Bohemian music, Norbert Hadrava was an Austrian diplomat who served in Berlin in the 1770s

⁸⁶ Razumovsky (née Thun-Hohenstein) to Razumovsky, 20 Sept. 1804, in Wassiltchikow, *Les Razoumowski*, iii/2, 177.

⁸⁷ Razumovsky (née Thun-Hohenstein) to Razumovsky, 26 Nov. 1804, *ibid.* 196.

⁸⁸ 'Je viens de voir Hadrova, qui m'a fait souscrire pour des sonates de clavecin que je ne jouerai jamais. Mais il m'a parlé d'une chose que je trouve bien tentante pour notre nouvelle maison. Voici ce que c'est. Il y a dans la maison de la Favorita un superbe parquet en mosaïque pris dans le palais de Tibère à Capri. Il y en a encore deux à avoir, dont l'un très beau n'est pas encore déterré, mais le sera, si vous voulez, et rendu à Vienne dans six mois. Le prix ne me paraît pas exorbitant. C'est aux environs de mille cinq-cents florins. J'ai donc donné commission de faire prendre les dessins coloriés des deux, ainsi que la mesure et la description des différentes qualités de marbre. Je vous les enverrai pour que vous choisissiez. Cela serait charmant pour une des salles du jardin, et m-r Hedrowa dit, qu'ils sont aussi grands que celui de la Favorite. Mais le quidam passe pour un juif, ce que je croirais facilement à la manière, dont il m'a fait prendre les sonates...'. Razumovsky (née Thun-Hohenstein) to Razumovsky, 7 Oct. 1804; *ibid.* 186–7.

and Naples in the 1780s.⁸⁹ The keyboard sonatas to which Elizabeth refers may well have been his own—his works include a set of six sonatas dedicated to Countess Cobenzl, suggesting that diplomatic spouses were among his target audience. In any case, the encounter is revealing. First, it provides evidence that the marketplace for luxury commodities encompassed not just the brand new but also the very old: what better way to underscore the neoclassical splendour of the Razumovsky Palace than to import a mosaic floor directly from the palace of the Roman emperor Tiberius? Second, and more importantly, it demonstrates how representation could be mediated in informal and even unpredictable ways by other actors: in this case, Hadrava as a go-between and Elizabeth as a consumer on behalf of her husband. Indeed, the encounter highlights the informality of representational culture itself: while we may ascribe a certain degree of semiotic coherence to, say, the Razumovsky Palace, it is helpful to acknowledge that this coherence is the result of numerous processes, many of them arbitrary, through which the assemblage ‘Razumovsky Palace’ came into being. Elizabeth’s chance encounter with Hadrava was one of many encounters that helped to shape the palace and, by extension, its representational character.

CONCLUSION: DIPLOMACY AND THE LUXURY DEBATES

In 1811, the French royalist turned Russian agent Count de Langeron (1763–1831) found it ‘droll’ that Razumovsky, once a soldier and a diplomat, now lived the life of ‘a gardener and an architect’.⁹⁰ Whether Razumovsky took the remark as a compliment or an affront, it underscores the notion that, for many, the pursuit of luxury and the pursuit of politics were seen as incommensurable. Indeed, eighteenth-century philosophers and economists had vigorously debated the question of luxury’s benefits and detriments to the state. In *The Fable of the Bees* (1714), which influenced among others Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Dr Johnson, Bernard de Mandeville argued that luxury was the very foundation of national prosperity and happiness. While critics regarded this idea as cynical in its conviction that humans were selfish creatures, it established the view that ‘private vice’ could be a ‘public benefit’. Others argued that the influence of luxury had corrupting effects on both the individual and the state. A diplomatic manual published in 1752 in conjunction with the founding of the diplomatic school in Strasbourg (where Razumovsky studied), for instance, decried excessive spending:

But to make excessive expenditures in clothing; in furnishings, in buildings, in banquets, in equipages; to relish in effacing others and in equalling even the magnificence of Princes, this is an effect of pride, and an unworthy affectation of a solid mind. . . . *When one knows true glory, and that one feels oneself capable of acquiring it, one despises luxury that so pleases the common man.*⁹¹

Here, ‘persons of quality’—including young diplomats—are instructed to rise above the ‘common man’, who believes that personal gain comes from the acquisition and

⁸⁹ On Hadrava, see John Rice, ‘Improvising Face to Face’, *Mozart Society of America Newsletter*, 3, no. 2 (27 Aug. 1999), 5–6.

⁹⁰ Langeron to Razumovsky, 13/25 Mar. 1811, in Wassiltchikow, *Les Razoumowski*, ii/4, 54–5. Razumovsky’s official tenure as ambassador had ended in 1807.

⁹¹ ‘Mais faire des dépenses excessives en habits; en ameublements, en édifices, en festins, en équipages; se piquer d’effacer les autres & d’égaliser même la magnificence des Princes, c’est un effet de l’orgueil, & une affectation indigne d’un esprit solide. . . . *Quand on connoit la vraie gloire, & qu’on se sent capable de l’acquiescer, on méprise le luxe qui plait tant au commun des hommes.*’ [Nicolas Remond des Cours], *La Véritable Politique des personnes de qualité* (Strasbourg, 1752), 136. Voss (‘L’École diplomatique’, 209) notes the treatise’s connection with the diplomatic school.

parading of wealth. Maintaining moral distinction requires keeping one's pride in check and avoiding ostentatious display.⁹²

This view, which seemingly runs contrary to the aims of representational culture, highlights that perceptions of political legitimacy were founded on moral as well as economic grounds. The impression of wealth may have implied authority, but its excessive accumulation could undermine the moral aspect of that authority (one must 'despise' luxury to achieve 'true glory'). From this standpoint, luxury in excess threatened to forestall or even undermine the goals of diplomacy, which included conveying the righteous moral character of the state. And yet, it seems unlikely that Razumovsky or his peers would have understood luxury and morality as being at opposite poles. On the contrary, luxurious pursuits among aristocrats (and increasingly among bourgeois) were valorized through morally charged discourses that emphasized the virtuous aspects of sensibility, taste, and connoisseurship.⁹³ Luxurious pursuits did not merely demonstrate the copiousness of one's resources, then; they also served to lubricate relationships among a like-minded, morally 'superior', and—by the early nineteenth century—ever-dwindling elite. By championing English gardening, neoclassical palace design, and Viennese music, Razumovsky affirmed his membership in a cosmopolitan peerage while also expressing a private vision of self and nation. His estate illustrates in striking fashion how *ancien régime* representational culture lived on well past the Revolutionary era, even as long-standing ties between political power and aristocratic splendour threatened to be sundered.

ABSTRACT

This essay explores the role of luxury in the social and diplomatic life of Count Andrey Razumovsky (1752–1836), Russian ambassador to Austria during the Napoleonic Wars. Focusing on Razumovsky's making of an embassy during the heyday of his estate, roughly 1803 to 1815, it examines his cultivation of English landscape gardening, neoclassical architecture, and Viennese music in relation to ideas of European representational culture and Russian Westernization. Through his engagement with horticulture, architecture, and music, Razumovsky displayed not only his wealth and status but also his cosmopolitan sensibility. His representational efforts emphasize the interrelated nature of private and professional concerns among early nineteenth-century diplomats. They also highlight the plurality of actors mobilized in diplomatic representation. In addition to the artists and musicians in his service, Razumovsky's first wife, Maria Elizabeth von Thun-Hohenstein (1764–1806), contributed to the palace's life and design. Her activities as *salonnière* and political confidante illustrate how closely private and professional spheres overlapped.

⁹² Music, though not mentioned in the Strasbourg manual, also had its place in the luxury debates. See Damien Mahiet, 'Charles Burney, or the Philosophical Misfortune of a Liberal Musician', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 10 (2013), 41–63 at 51–5.

⁹³ Such issues are considered in DeNora, *Construction of Genius*; David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770–1848* (Berkeley, 2002); and Jen-yen Chen, 'Musical Culture and Social Ideology in Vienna circa 1800: Aristocratic Patronage and Bourgeois Reception of Joseph Haydn's Oratorios', *Concentric: Literary and Cultural Studies*, 36/1 (Mar. 2010), 189–215.